

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Fight Against Ben. Butler.

The contest for Congressional honors in the Fifth district in Massachusetts constitutes a curious episode in the present contest. The district is now, as is well known, represented by the irrepressible General Butler, and the war is, curiously enough, waged by the radicals—of whom Butler has been an acknowledged leader—against the General, to oust him from his seat in the House of Representatives. This is practically the war between Grant and Butler revived in a new shape, with what result remains to be seen. Butler is not a saint. He does not profess to be a saint. His antecedents and proceedings are altogether of a different character. He occupies the position of Satan visiting Eden, and if elected to Congress—the radical Eden—he will be full of mischief, and create as much of a row and rioting among the faithful as his great prototype did in the early history of mankind. It is made of just the stuff to give the radicals in Congress a great deal of trouble. If ever a state of things existed that invited the presence of the Devil, Congress next session will be the place and Ben Butler the representative man. He will rip up all the radical plots, corruptions, jobs, and juggleries from top to bottom. He will expose the rottenness of radicalism from root to branch. The radicals knew and feel this, and hence the opposition that besets him in his district. Hence it is that by a singular upheaval of the political elements we find the party mummies of a remote age coming to the surface, and joining hands with the long-haired radical nondescripts of the present period, the stiff-necked and Puritanical embodiments of the hour, the "blasted bondholders," the bubbling Bohemians and the babbling blue stockings of Massachusetts, going into a fight against a fiery-tongued, satanic, unscrupulous, and audacious publicist like Ben Butler. Certain injustices can only be fought with fire, and Butler is the fitting torch-bearer. The Democrats should go en masse for him. There is no chance for electing their candidate, and Butler will answer all their purposes in slinking up the radical dry bones. If he should turn out to be a reformer, so much the better. It will be a new role for him, and one in which, properly and vigorously carried out, he will win much applause and perhaps distinction. So, then, let the Democrats of the Essex district unite with Butler's friends and secure his triumphant reelection to Congress.

Insufficient Grounds.

From the N. Y. World. General Grant is a candidate for the Presidency on two grounds—first, a supposition, and second, an aspiration. I. The supposition appears to be that, as a successful military man, the highest civil office is his due; and his hypothesis (General Sherman, as the next most significant military man, ought to be Vice-President; General Sheridan, as the next Chief Justice, and so on, until we would have colonel-senators, captain-judges, and corporal-sheriffs. Furthermore, on the same hypothesis, as the navy did only less than the army, Admiral Farragut, as the most successful sailor, ought to be our next succeeding President, with a Cabinet of post-captains, and a bench of "captain-boys." This, if submitted, is not according to the eternal fitness of things. Grant is a soldier, a successful soldier. Let him remain the head of the army. Seymour is a statesman, a sagacious statesman. Put him in the White House. Let us have the right man in the right place.

II. As to the aspiration, it is let us have peace. This is a good aspiration. If capacity to form it entitles one to the Presidency, every mother's son who ought to be in the White House to-day. We all want peace. War hasn't made any of us generals with unexampled rank, emoluments, and pay. When we say let us have peace, we are in dead earnest about it. We don't dictate the sentiment to our chief of staff, and then go out and order Meade to proclaim martial law on the eve of election in five great States. Not much. We don't have fifty horses in our stables, and receive each day eighty poor men's food at the public cost. War hasn't made us great, when we come out for peace we are not turning our back on the best friend we ever had in the world.

But it is argued that because General Grant utters the aspiration he will make it a fact. If elected he will enter the White House at a time of great tumult and anarchy. He will find that life is not as secure as it should be, that liberty is much in danger, that property is far from safe. In one word, he will find that those things which it is the province of a good government to conserve are not properly attended to, and now, that in this exigency will he do? How will he let us have peace? Once before he has been called on to meet such a state of affairs as this, and in his course then is to be found an unerring indication of his purpose now. In the State of Texas it was reported to him last year that there was a condition of things analogous to that now extending over much of the country, and this was his view thereon—"Believing it to be the province and duty of every good government to afford protection to the lives, liberty, and property of her citizens, I would recommend the declaration of martial law in Texas to secure these ends." Nor was this view confined merely to Texas, but expanded into a general rule, thus—"That the application of martial law to one of these States would be a warning to all, and, if necessary, could be extended to others." Nor, furthermore, was this view promulgated under cover of the so-called Reconstruction acts. It was not until March 2, 1867, that the State of Texas was, among others, by virtue thereof "made subject to the military authority of the United States," and yet, on the 29th of the January preceding, General Grant coolly recommended "the declaration of martial law in Texas." It took an act of Congress, you see, to make Texas subject to the military authority of the United States, even in the minds of radical Congressmen, and yet General Grant, more radical even than they, recommends martial law upon any other pretext at all. It is submitted that this is an ugly commentary on a serene text.

Is the South a New Ireland?

From the N. Y. Times. "Shall we make a new Ireland in America?" asks General Blair; and then he goes on to answer that the reconstruction policy of Congress has resulted in a "new Ireland"—an unhappy land, "proscribed," and persecuted, and trampled down as the old Ireland is. Of course, this is some of Blair's blarney. He is blabbing for the votes of Irish-born citizens, and appeals to their prejudices by likening Congress to the English oppressor and the Southern States to the ill-used country from which they sprang. The appeal would be legitimate if it were true. It would be effective if it were not so directly at variance with

facts that only a fool can honestly give it credence. The South is not a "new Ireland" in any respect. Its treatment by Congress bears no analogy whatever to the treatment of Ireland by the English Government. Not a single Irish grievance has a parallel under the Reconstruction acts. Not a solitary right now claimed by or in behalf of the people of Ireland is withheld from the people of the South. The Republican policy in regard to the latter can have no more complete vindication than in the contrast it affords to the policy of Britain as the conqueror and ruler of Ireland.

England, as the ruler of Ireland, has shown us how a powerful nation may deem itself at liberty to vindicate the authority of the conqueror and to uphold the attributes of a governing power. It has never dealt generously with armed oppression or leniently with suppressed rebellion. Its acquisition of control has from the first been signalized by harsh punishments and stern repression. It did not wait for rebellion to justify confiscation; it found excuse for that in a mere difference of religious faith. It proscribed and persecuted simply because they were Catholics. It hunted them like wild beasts because in matters of faith and opinion they differed from their English masters. It robbed them of lands and houses, and sent them forth as outcasts for attempting to exercise the commonest privileges of freemen. And having by tyranny and wrong driven them into insurrection, it shot or hanged all it caught, appropriated their possessions, and transferred the lands of rebellious districts to its loyal adherents. It imposed upon the country an insolent hierarchy, representing an insignificant minority of the people, degraded the tillers of the soil to the level of serfs, and instituted a policy designed to depress domestic industry and render dependence upon Britain abject and complete. The severe measures recently called out by Fenianism, and the sufferings inflicted upon Fenian agents and leaders, prove that the British Government has not materially changed its tactics when resistance to its authority is in question.

Supposing, then, that Frank Blair means what he says when he asserts that the Republican policy has created a new Ireland in the South, what might we expect to find in that section of the Union? In the first place, every captured leader of the Rebellion exalted as an example. Next, the banishment of thousands of their more conspicuous adherents. Next, the forfeiture of all their landed estates and their subdivision among the Freedmen. Next, the erection of a strong military government, with officers instructed to punish summarily all who attempted to produce dissatisfaction or indicate resistance. Such would be a partial reproduction of the British policy toward Ireland, which Blair tells us has been adopted and applied by Congress.

But mark the difference! Not a single Southern Rebel has been hanged or banished. On the contrary, they go about unmolested, travel to the North to construct Democratic platforms and nominate Democratic candidates, abuse and defy the Government which has treated them magnanimously, and actually boast of their determination to trample upon its laws and overthrow its work. Nor has there been any confiscation of Rebels' plantations, or any continued interference with the political privileges of those who would have destroyed the Union if they could. They cultivate their farms and pursue their avocations unmolested. Beyond the exclusion of a very limited class from Federal office, the whole people of the South share the rights and benefits of free government. They have absolute control of their local affairs, and participate freely in national government.

For the "proscription and persecution" which General Blair declares distinguish the Reconstruction policy, we look in vain anywhere. In the seven States which have been restored to the Union under the law, not one citizen is disfranchised by the General Government. No disability of any kind, in connection with the suffrage, is attendant upon reconstruction. With the trifling exception we have named, no penalty whatever is inflicted by reconstruction upon any class; Rebel and loyalist are equal in the eye of the law—in their freedom and opportunities. They share Federal representation and the management of their State's concerns. The South, then, there, give the Southern people the fullest liberty. No oppression taints any part of it. If the Rebels are not content, it is not because they are proscribed or persecuted, but because the law which restores them to the freedom of the Union provides guarantees against the infliction of injustice upon the freedmen.

General Blair and his party violate truth when they represent the South as the victim of Federal tyranny. Sorrows it may have, the penalty of its own guilt; but it suffers no wrong from Congress, and should rather be grateful than rebellious.

Seymour and Blair.

From the N. Y. Herald. Seymour has been West making half a dozen speeches a day, more or less, and on everything in the heavens and in the earth and in the water, except the earth, except Seymour and Blair as the Democratic ticket, and excepting the main plank of the Democratic platform. Blair comes to New York, and, regardless of his taboos by the Manhattan Club and the warnings of the Bohemians who dance about that club, he stands and speaks bravely and squarely on the main plank of the Democratic platform, the unconstitutionality of the reconstruction laws, and the Democratic masses applaud him to the echo. He is not to be pat down or kept out of sight by the Manhattan ring, nor does he intend that Seymour should be a small fish in the sea. Blair, too, goes the whole ticket, Seymour and Blair, while Seymour ignores Blair and goes only for Seymour as the representative of the Democratic faith. Hence, as the real embodiment of the Tammany creed, Blair is the man who ought to be at the head of the ticket; for, sink or swim, he stands by his colors.

Once More Into the Breach.

From the Washington National Intelligencer. It is gratifying to know that throughout the whole extent of the Northern States the Democrats and conservatives are fully aroused to the necessity of earnest, active, and industrious exertion to carry the election next week. The people themselves are all-powerful. They can achieve victory if they will, even when leaders are recreant. It is a source of peculiar satisfaction to witness this demonstration on the part of the masses, in defiance of the indifference and the treachery of the Tammany clique, which assumed to manage the campaign, and up to this time have managed it only in the interest of our opponents. Never before was a party cursed with such management. All was confided to the Tammany ring, which, with large promises, undertook to manage the whole affair. The Congressional Committee at Washington was abrogated. The whole control of the canvass was impudently assumed by the New York managers. The result was, nothing whatever was done. Tammany was content with the local triumph in New York State, and was willing to let the rest of the country take care of itself.

Fortunately, the October elections opened the eyes of the Democrats and conservatives to the faults, follies, and deliberate errors of omission and commission through which they had failed to realize the success to which they were entitled. They have been prompt to repair these errors. They have, not only for the present, but for all future time, ignored the cabal of New York lobbyists in every political campaign, who assumed control only for the most selfish purposes. The masses have discovered that they can no longer rely upon such miserable chicanery in politics, and, having already suffered, are determined to suffer no longer from this source. They have determined to act for themselves. If they will do this in every voting precinct throughout the country, they will even yet win a glorious victory.

The Central Committee at New York has proved a fraud, a deception, an ignis fatuus, leading the conservatives only to defeat. The safety of the party is in acting independently, awaiting no instructions, expecting no aid from that impotent source. One people only win the fight. They can yet achieve a glorious victory. They can drive radicalism to the wall in this contest, if they will all act together and depend only on themselves. The radicals were jubilant so long as they found the Democrats and conservatives depending upon their treacherous New York Junta; but so soon as they found that it had been denounced and cast aside, they began to despond. We are gratified to find that the exposition that has been made has aroused the Democratic masses throughout the country to a sense of the necessity of self-dependence. This sentiment will go far to carry us triumphantly through the election. The idea of depending upon central committees of any description, whether national, or State, or county committees, is erroneous. It enervates and paralyzes the energies of a party. It relieves individuals from the responsibility of exertion. It leaves all the work of the many to be done by a few, who often, as in this instance, do it badly.

What is wanting now is for the masses of the friends of the Constitution, the Union, and civil liberty—the opponents of radical extravagances and usurpations—to unite together in one serried phalanx, to wait for the word or help of no committee, but to go to work for the next few days, each for himself, to labor early and late, and unceasingly, to bring out the fullest Democratic and conservative vote in opposition to radicalism that can be polled. There should nothing be left undone that any one man can do. Every voter should be left unpolled that is entitled to be polled. There should be no Democratic or conservative vote, whether able to go unpolled to the polls, or lame, halt, or blind, requiring assistance, that should not be put into the ballot-box.

It is of more than ordinary importance that every Democratic and conservative vote in the country should be cast. The existing crisis is extraordinary. If we are defeated now, there might be never again a Presidential election, never any more constitutional liberty, nothing but a military despotism, and then—silence! To avoid this it is necessary that every vote opposed to empire under the existing radical rules shall be cast on the 31 of November. It is especially essential to our Southern friends that they shall cast their fullest vote. It is necessary to their safety and to the preservation of the peace of the country that the full force of the conservatives and anti-radicals shall be shown unmistakably in this election. Let every vote be cast; and let frauds be prevented, and all will be well.

The Democratic Stamped on Financial Issues.

From the N. Y. Tribune. The Democratic party, ashamed of their candidates, and retarding the revolutionary features of their platform, are vainly endeavoring to make a stand and rally their estricken and deserting ranks by misrepresenting financial issues. Here also they are in hurried retreat from all their leading positions. Mr. Pendleton, flinching that the people see nothing but ruin in paying off the entire National debt in greenbacks, thus availing our currency to \$2,500,000,000 and destroying its value, now declares that he never advocated that policy. Other Democratic orators find that the clause in the Democratic platform calling for the equal taxation of every species of property involves a system of direct taxation on all real estate and fixed capital, without regard to its income; that it admits of no discrimination in favor of the poor or against articles of vice or luxury; that for every dollar it would collect out of the national bonds it would collect forty dollars out of real estate and other permanent investments; and that it is, in fact, the most unequal system of taxation which human ingenuity could devise. They are therefore, actively pushing back and assuring their hearers that it does not mean what they say.

Mr. Seymour himself has explained that the bulk of our National bonds is held by Savings Banks and Insurance Companies, and that the property of their two millions of depositors and insurers is invested by these companies in the National debt. What is not so held is owned mainly by our friends in Germany, not by the aristocrats nor capitalists, but by the intelligent middle classes there, who believe in American institutions. It is clearly base, and not very clearly profitable, to swindle our chambermaids and servant girls under pretense of rescuing our "poor taxpayers" from the clutch of the blasted bondholders. Therefore the great Democratic drama of the "blasted bondholders and the suffering taxpayers" refuses to run through the season, since the hero of the plot is discovered to be a sneak who is picking the pockets of servant girls under pretense of protecting virtue and aiding the indigent.

There was a very nice little device by which the national bonds were all to be paid off in twenty years by a simple tax on the bonds themselves. Upon this policy the national credit would flourish as the fabled serpent grew fat by perpetually consuming his own tail. But it is found on careful study that this policy results in no revenue—that what we collect in taxation on the bonds we pay in increased rates of interest.

The Democratic platform has also a nice little clause in favor of our currency. But on inquiry it is ascertained that the Democratic party in Congress voted almost solid for two currencies, "one for the bondholder and another for the laborer and peasant," while the Republican party voted by a heavy majority in favor of paying the interest on the public debt and duties on imports in greenbacks, hoping thereby to keep the greenbacks at par with gold. We are indebted to the Democratic party, therefore, for our two currencies. Hence they are beginning to fight shy on this question.

They talked loudly of economy. But it is found that the same city government of New York which our Republican Mayor Opdyke ran in 1861 and 1862 for less than \$12,000,000 a year, costs under Mayor Hoffman over \$24,000,000 a year, being twice as much per head for our whole population under a Democratic Mayor as under a Republican, gold and other prices remaining the same. As for the President Johnson's Administration, and abuses of President Johnson's Administration, the checks thrown around it are such that it costs \$15,000,000 less in gold per annum to

run the entire civil service of our national Government under Johnson than it did under Buchanan. These facts close the discussion on economical points.

In answer to their allegations that the national debt is on the increase, we show that since June, 1865, the whole amount of debt then incurred and outstanding, including that for which no bonds were ever issued, but which was met and paid by taxes, has been reduced from \$3,300,000,000 to \$2,500,000,000. In short, that the national debt with which we ended the war is now one-fourth paid. To their complaints that we are still so far from specie payments as ever, and their inquiries why gold does not come down to par, we answer:—During the past three years the Government has been compelled to fund about \$1,100,000,000 of short and accruing obligations into bonds payable in twenty years or at the option of the Government after five years.

This funding process has kept the Government constantly a borrower, has compelled it to keep steadily paying on the market its new obligations, with which the market was already glutted. So long as this process continued its credit could not rise to par. But now that the funding process is complete, and the Government is no longer a borrower, nothing but Democratic threats of repudiation will prevent us from ultimately borrowing all the money we want at three or four per cent. This would reduce our annual interest by \$90,000,000 a year. Hence, the first great motto of national economy is to crush all attempts at repudiation as incendiary, irresponsible, and too costly to be even agitated.

In verification of these facts, we show that bonds declined two per cent. when Seymour and Blair were nominated, and recently advanced seven per cent. when it was generally announced that their success had ceased to be possible, and Democratic organs in despair declared for a change of measures and of men. There is, therefore, as general a cessation of the Democratic fire on the financial questions as on reconstruction. Seymour tells them to "brush the debt and taxation issue," but, having grasped the sword by the blade-point, instead of the hilt, the harder they "push" it the deeper it wounds them.

Republicans of New York and Pennsylvania! take up the challenge which Mr. Seymour has thrown down, and "push the financial question. The Democratic party can be compelled to break ranks and run as far and as fast on that battle-field as on any other. Let your watchword be, "We entered upon the war for the Union with pure motives, we conducted it for wise ends, we fought it with noble blood, and we will pay for it with good money."

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